1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

131 619 **Senhaja.** To the west and southwest of the Rif, nowhere touching the Mediterranean seaboard, is the Northern Senhaja, which may be divided into the Senhaja Sghir, or Little Senhaja, and the Arabophone Senhaja, composed of tribes extending to either side of the nuclear group. The Little Senhaja contains eleven tribes. Zarket, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Beni Hamid, Beni Beshir, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Berber, Taghruth, and Ktama. To these may be added Beni Mesduy, a tribe of two villages compressed between Targuist, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, and Zarket. Politically, Beni Mesduy is divided between Targuist and Zarket; geographically, it is thrust into the side of the Rif; linguistically, it is Senhajan. Since the Beni Mesduy speak the same Senhajan dialect as the people of Zarket, and consider themselves to be remotely descended from the same ancestors, they are usually classed as Senhajan by the Riffians living near them.

●197 Although this is not a work on linguistics, some reference to language cannot be avoided. The Riffians speak a peculiar dialect of Berber called *thamazighth*, which seems to be most typically represented in the central region, and grades into the Zenatan idiom as one passes eastward toward the Muluya. The people of Targuist have lost their Berber speech, speaking Arabic domestically, and the same is true to a lesser extent of the Beni Bu Frah, many of whom are ignorant of Berber. The peoples of Mestassa and Mtiwa are losing it rapidly.

The dialect spoken in the Senhaja Sghir, although possessing local differences between tribes, is distinctly different from any dialect of the Rif, and cannot be understood without study by a Riffian. Riffian and Senhajan speakers of Berber are forced to employ Arabic as a means of communication.

The Senhajan tribes which speak only Arabic are divided into two groups, those to the east of the tribe of Mtiwa dial Jbil (to be distinguished from the Riffian maritime tribe of Mtiwa, called, to avoid confusion, Mtiwa dial Bhar) and those to the west of it.

The Eastern Arabophone Senhaja contains nineteen units generally considered as tribes. These are Marnissa, Beni Krama, Branes, Amshesh, Beni Wenjin, Fenassa, Beni Ulid, Zrarka, Bu Adl, Beni Koraa, Ain Mediuna, Bab Wendar, Muniet, Rgheiwa, Aghbalu, Khunduktamda, Ulad Brahim, and Beni Bu Slama. Amshesh and Beni Bu Slama are but single settlements, occupied by religious devotees, the former located on the border between Beni Amart and Marnissa, and the latter between Beni Hamid and Beni Wenjin. Both retain Berber speech of the Senhajan variety. Zwawa, a small village of the tribe of Fenassa, likewise preserves Berber speech. Taunat el Uta, a village politically affiliated with the non-Senhajan tribe of Mtiwa dial Jbil, is said to be of Senhajan origin, and hence is included with the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja.

The Western Arabophone Senhaja, extending from the western border of Ktama to and beyond the city of Sheshawen, is perhaps not as purely Senhajan as the Eastern division. It includes the tribes of Beni Hamid Sorak, Ghazawa, and el Khmes, and two isolated villages separate from the rest — Taseghudra, in the midst of the non-Senhajan tribe of Beni Zerwal, and Taghzuth, in Beni Hassan of the Ghomara. The latter lays claim to being an offshoot of the tribe of Taghzuth and preserves Senhajan speech.

Beni Hozmar, a tribe to the northwest of Sheshawen, is said to be Senhajan, but data are difficult to obtain, owing to the fact that the Riffian army in their advance on Tetwan during the recent war utterly destroyed the village of these people, and whatever inhabitants survived scattered, leaving their home territory uninhabited.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

131 619 **Ghomara.** The third great region is the Ghomara, which extends along the Mediterranean coast from Wed Uringa to Wed Lao, and is separated from the Senhaja by the main mountain crest. It is divided into eight tribes, Beni Ziat, Beni Zejel, Beni Selman, Beni Bu Zra, Beni Mansur, Beni Grir, Beni Smih, and Beni Rezin.

197 Of these Beni Bu Zra retains Berber speech in fairly complete form, and all the others employ Berber words mixed with Arabic. This Ghomaran dialect has never been studied, but seems to resemble Riffian more closely than does Senhajan, in that Riffian and Ghomaran are mutually comprehensible.

131 619 **Other Berber Groups.** This work is confined to a consideration of the Riffians, Senhajans, and Ghomarans because my material covers these groups only, and not because they are the only recognizable Berbers of northern Morocco. In the peninsula which culminates at Tangier and Ceuta lives another group, the Anjera, which although Arab in speech is distinctly Berber in appearance, and which is said to be related to the Riffians; to the south and west of the Senhaja are other tribes, such as the Beni Zerwal, which are certainly not Arab in origin.

The term *Jebala*, from the Arabic word for mountain, is generally used to distinguish the Ghomara, the Arabophone Senhaja, and the other Berber tribes of the northwest from the Riffians and from the Arabs. This term is unfortunately inexact, and hence is not employed in this work to designate any specific area.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

133 The most important topographical feature of this region is the high mountain chain which bends southward from Tetwan into the heart of the Senhaja Sghir, and then resumes an eastward course through the Rif until it fades down into a series of hills in Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi to crop up again, thrusting northeastward, in Galiya, and carrying the land of that tribe out into the Mediterranean at the Cabo Tres Forcas. Although the crest of this range is in most places nearly thirty miles from the Mediterranean coast, the shore line itself is rough and craggy, since the mountains carry much of their height to the very water's edge, where they descend with a sharp drop. The mountains are higher in the west than in the east. Adhrar Tidighin, partly in Beni Khennus and partly in Beni Seddath, is the highest in the range, reaching an altitude of 2,549 meters [1] in one peak and 2,455 meters [1] in another; it is covered on the north side with a permanent layer of snow. Although Tidighin is the highest peak, it does not far surpass its neighbors. Between Taghzuth and Beni Bu Nsar, slightly southeast of Tidighin, is another mountain of great height and majesty, called the mountain of Taghzuth, 2,330 meters [1] high. In the Rif itself the highest points of the divide are Kuin, 1,883 meters,[1] and Tizi Uzli, 2,006 meters,[1] both in the Gzennaya. The Jebel Hammam, in Beni Urriaghel, attains about the same height, 1,948 meters, [1] but does not fall in the direct line of the watershed.

The divide itself runs between the Ghomara and the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja; it separates Ktama from Mtiwa of the Rif, and Beni Seddath and Beni Khennus from Beni Bu Nsar (although in truth these three tribes might be said to perch on top of it); runs through Zarket, setting Targuist on one side and Beni Hamid on the other; and cuts through the middle of Beni Amart, along the range of Tizi Ifri, and across the top of Gzennaya, along

[1] Map issued by the Service Géographique du Maroc, Rabat, March, 1926. Scale, 1: 20,000.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

INTRODUCTION

THE Muhammadan natives of Morocco are chiefly of Berber race, although the Berber language, which before the arrival of the Arabs was spread over the whole country, has in a large part of it been superseded by the tongue of the invaders. The Berber-speaking tribes, to whom alone the term "Berber" is popularly applied, may be divided into several groups. There are the Berbers of the Rīf, called by themselves Irifiyen and in Arabic Ruâfa, whose country extends along the Mediterranean coast between a line about forty miles south-east of Tetuan and the neighbourhood of the Algerian frontier; the Brâber, who inhabit the mountain regions of Central Morocco and the eastern portion of the Great Atlas range; the Shlöḥ, or Išelḥīn as they call themselves, who inhabit the western part of the Great Atlas and the province of Sūs, situated to the south of it—a territory the eastern frontier of which may be roughly indicated by a line drawn from the neighbourhood of Demnat in a south-easterly direction, and the northern frontier by a slightly curved line uniting Demnat with Mogador on the Atlantic coast and following the foot of the mountains or, in some places, intercepting a strip of the plain; and the Drâwa, who inhabit the valley of the Wād Drā in the extreme south of Morocco. A fifth group consists of various tribes living in the neighbourhood of Ujda, in the north-eastern corner of the country. All the Berber-speaking people are called by a Berber name Imaziğĕn.

This division into groups is based not only on geographical but also on linguistic considerations. The dialects of the tribes belonging to the same group have greater

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

197 resemblance than those spoken within different groups, which may differ greatly both in their words and sounds. A Rifian told me that when he heard the talk of Brâber or Shlöḥ he could only recognise a few of the words, while a Berber from

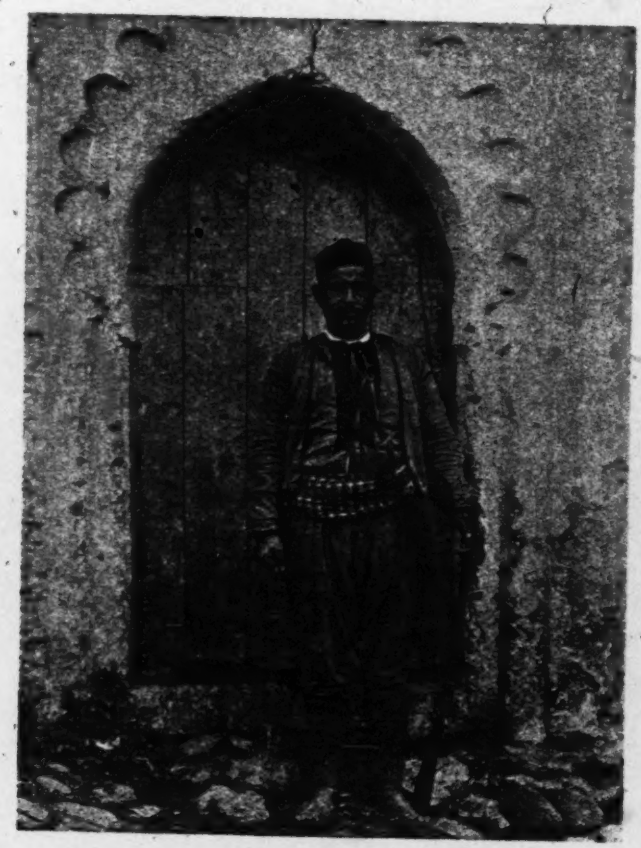

FIG. 1.—Sîdi 'Abdsslam l-Bâqqâli in Andjra.

the south, who had travelled much, said that he could understand the Brâber with difficulty, but the Rifians not at all. There is, however, no sharp line of demarcation between the dialects of the southern and central Berbers, as there is no very definite geographical border between those people; whereas the dialectic differences inside the latter group may

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

be quite considerable. The language even of neighbouring tribes, like the Aiṭ Sádděn and the Ait Waráin, may differ so much in its vocabulary and phonetics that a member of the one tribe sometimes finds it difficult to understand a member of the other, and, as I have tested myself, is unable to imitate certain sounds of his dialect. The dialects of the Rīf [1] also

FIG. 2.—Scribe from Fez (my secretary).

present more dissimilarities than the Shelha, the language of the Shlöh, which is comparatively homogeneous, phonetically as well as otherwise. Yet in every Berber tribe there are linguistic peculiarities, which may be quite notable even inside the same tribe. The explanation of the remarkable differentiation of the Berber language is not far to seek. It

[1] See Biarnay, *Étude sur les dialectes berbères du Rif* (Paris, 1917).

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

lies partly in the complete absence of a written standard, and partly in the vastness of the territory inhabited by the Berbers and the lack of contact between the different groups or even sections of the same group.[1]

The Arabic-speaking people of Morocco consist of the 'Arab ("Arabs"), who inhabit most of the plains; the Jbâla ("mountaineers") who inhabit the mountain region extending from the Straits of Gibraltar to the neighbourhood of Fez and to the west and south of the Rîf; and the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the towns, who are often referred to as "Moors", although this name may be more conveniently applied to the Muhammadan population of Morocco in general. The dialectic differences of the Arabic of Morocco are infinitely smaller than those of the Berber idioms. The pronunciation of ت and ث as *ts* (*tˢ*) in Northern Morocco and of ڤ (Moorish ق) as *g* among the 'Arab is particularly conspicuous.

Although Arabic is spoken over a much smaller area of the country than Berber, it is nevertheless the dominant language, being that of the Government and administration, the religious creed, and the higher culture. Berber is despised as a barbarous jargon. There is an Arabic saying, *Lá-'sel ma hûwa iḍam, l-bêšna ma hîya ṭa'âm, š-šêlḥa ma hîya klam*, "Honey is not grease, durra is not food, Shelha is not a language". The Berbers themselves look upon their language as much inferior to Arabic, and those who have learned Arabic—many of them are bilingual—are often ashamed of speaking their mother-tongue. More than once I noticed the glad surprise shown by my Berber teachers at the interest I took in it, and their answers were in the beginning not infrequently accompanied with a friendly smile.[2] But although the Berbers respect the Arabic language, they do not like the 'Arab. The Shlöh accuse

[1] For the classification and mutual relations of the Berber dialects of Morocco *cf.* Stumme, *Handbuch des Schilhischen von Tazerwalt* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 3 *sq.*; Laoust, 'Coup d'œil sur les Études dialectales berbères au Maroc', in *Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines*, i. (Paris, 1920), p. 117 *sqq.*; H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères* (Alger, 1920), p. 51 *sqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Basset, *op. cit.* p. 34 *sq.*

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

DAVID MONTGOMERY HART

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF THE RIFFIAN TRIBE OF AITH WURYĀGHIL (*)

122 THIS paper, a result of six months of ethnographic field work in Spanish Morocco, was made possible by funds granted from the Ford Foundation. That foundation is not, however, the author owner, publisher or proprietor of the publication in which this paper appears, and is not to be understood as approving by virtue of its grant any of the statements made or views expressed herein.

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101 Aith Wuryāghil is not only the biggest and most important tribe
[161] in the Rif, but the most heavily populated in the whole of the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, totaling some 65.000 people at the present time. It is delimited on the north by the Bay of Alhucemas and by the Mediterranean Sea; on the west by the tribes of Buqqūya, Banī Yaṭṭuft and Targīst; on the east by the Nakūr River and the tribes of Tamsamān and Aith Tuzīn; and on the south by Aith Mazdūwī, Aith 'Ammarth and Gizināya (the last mentioned being just over the
101 border in French Morocco). Although Targīst and most of Banī
197 Yaṭṭuft are Arabic-speaking, the other tribes all speak the Riffian dialect of Berber. Aith Wuryāghil, Aith 'Ammarth and northern Gizināya form, in particular, a Central Riffian linguistic bloc where Arabic is known only by a tiny literate minority. This dialect, called *Shilḥa* in Arabic and *Thamāzighth* in Riffian, is stronger in the Central Rīf than in any other part of northern Morocco, which gives an indication of the conservatism of the people who speak it. The three
101 nuclear Riffian tribes have all retained in large measure many of

(*) Excepcionalmente se ha conservado el sistema de transcripción usado por el autor del artículo, aunque difiere del adoptado por esta Revista (N. de la R.)

[P. 51]

5:- Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

114 It seems that from almost the beginning of his Moroccan experience it was the Rifian region which made the deepest impression on Blanco. Of the five regions into which the Spanish Moroccan Protectorate was divided, the Rif was always Blanco's first choice. He fell in love with its barren peaks and its austere and vendetta-minded inhabitants at once, and for over fifteen years he devoted almost all his time away from administrative duties to as systematic a collection of ethnographic data as he was capable. Although he found it politically expedient to use a native interpreter, the value of his investigations was materially augmented by the fact that he spoke Rifian fairly fluently, though not always correctly, and with a marked Spanish accent. When one considers that Rifian is generally recognized to be [197] the most difficult to learn (probably because it is the least pure) of the three major Berber languages spoken in Morocco, and particularly in view of the fact that the number of Spaniards who speak it is very small indeed, this is no mean achievement.

In 1930, after becoming interventor of the Aith 'Ammarth, Blanco published his first book. This, a pamphlet entitled La Vivienda Rifeña, is an informal treatise on Rifian house types, profusely illustrated with pen and ink sketches by its author, who not only showed himself a keen observer of Rifian housebuilding techniques, but an artist of no mean talents as well. He had a fine eye for artistic detail, and his sketches pulsate with life.

During his tenure as interventor comarcal at Ajdir, Blanco signed and sent in, on August 27, 1935, a report to the regional administration

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The northern zone includes an area of about 20,000 square kilometers, roughly one-tenth of Morocco. The maximum width of the zone, from the Strait of Gibraltar to Wad Lukkus, is about 100 kilometers. The maximum length, from the Atlantic coast to Wad Moulouya, is about 340 kilometers. In 1950 the population of the zone was estimated at one million, including 85,000 Europeans in the Spanish protectorate, and another 150,000 Europeans in the cities of Tangier, Ceuta, and Melilla.

Territorial Divisions

Tribesmen of northern Morocco recognize three main confederations: Rif, Ghmara, and Sanhaja as-Srair (fig. 2). Most tribesmen recognize also a territory known as Jbala, the Arabic word for "mountains" or, in this case, "hills." There is no traditional name for the area west of a line drawn through Arcila and Ksar al-Kebir. In the Rif, tribesmen of the Atlantic coastal area are described as Igharbiyen (westerners). The Spanish referred to this area, approximately the basin of Wad Lukkus, as "Lucus." The easternmost sector of the protectorate, roughly the basin of Wad Kert, was known as Quert. The Moroccan government retained this division until August, 1958, when the northern zone was reorganized into larger territories.[1] In the discussion to follow, reference is made to the traditional divisions, not to territories established in recent decades.

The confederacy of Ghmara consists of nine tribes: Bani Bu Zra, Bani Mansur, Bani Khalid, Bani Silman, Bani Siyyat, Bani Zejal, Bani Rzin, Bani Grir, and Bani Smih. It is proper to use the prefix *bani*, Arabic for "sons of," since only a few villages in Bani Bu Zra and Bani Mansur retain Berber speech. According to tradition, these tribes are descendants of the nine sons of an immigrant schoolmaster named Aghmir.[2] Whether this explanation is historically accurate is unimportant. The significant point is that the Ghmaran tribes have a sense of belonging together through descent from a common, if perhaps hypothetical, ancestor.

The confederacy of Sanhaja as-Srair is formed of ten tribes: Ktama, Aith Seddath, Bani Gmil, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Bu Nsar, Bani Bu Shibat, Bani Hmid, Aith Bashir, and Zarqat. Here it is proper to use *aith*, Berber for "people of," since the tribes thus designated still speak Berber domestically. On the southern slope of the Rif Mountains, in what used to be French Morocco, are two other Sanhajan confederations, Sanhaja Ghaddu and Sanhaja Musbah, but these groups no longer speak Berber and have little contact with the Sanhajans of the northern zone.

The limits of the Rif are more difficult to trace. Many Moroccans apply this term to the entire eastern half of the zone. Tribesmen living within the eastern area are more restrictive. Bani Bu Frah and Bani Yittuft are usually regarded as Rifian, although they have nearly lost Rifian speech. Mtiwa and Mistasa are disclaimed by both Rifians and Ghmarans; they may be the descendants of immigrants or exiles, for immigrant or exiled Rifians are found near Fez, at several locations in Jbala, and in the Oran department of Algeria. Targist presents a special problem: the cultural affiliation of this tribe has been obscured by the

[1] For further details see *L'Afrique Française*, November–December, 1958; and W. H. Lewis, "Rural Administration in Morocco," *Middle East Jour.*, 14 (1960), 45–60.

[2] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebies* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), pp. 140–143.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

presence of an influential family of *shurfa*, alleged descendants of the Prophet, who encouraged a shift from Berber to Arabic speech. Rifian is spoken in the hamlet of the Aith Azza, but the weekly market of Targist has functioned traditionally as a trading center for the Sanhajan tribes, especially Zarqat. The Aith Mazduwi also appear to be of mixed origin, for both the Sanhajan and Rifian dialects are spoken by this tribe.

Sanhajans and Ghmarans generally regard all tribes to the east of them as Rifian, but among the Aith Bu Yihyi and other tribes of the Kert and Moulouya valleys this appellation is restricted to the tribes of the basin of Wad Nkour. It is useful to think of a zone of transition between the "true Rif"—Aith Wariyaghar, Ibuqquyen, Aith Ammarth, Igzinnayen, Aith Tuzin, Thimsaman—and the eastern frontier of the northern zone. The Ulad Stut are intrusive bedawin, like the Khlut of the Atlantic littoral. The remaining tribes may be described as "eastern Rifians." Two minor confederations are recognized within this group. The first, "Iqar'ayen" in Rifian and "Gal'aya" in Arabic, includes five tribes: Aith Bu Ifrur, Aith Sidar, Imazujen, Aith Bu Gafar, and Aith Shikar. The second, called "Garet" or "Gart" in Arabic, is formed of Ibdharsen and Aith Bu Yihyi. The dialect of the Aith Iznasen is intelligible to most Rifians, but there seems to be general agreement that the Rif, even in a broad sense, does not extend beyond Wad Moulouya.

Land and Livelihood

In the total context of geography, northern Morocco should be described as an isolated and generally inhospitable area. Moving from the Atlantic coast toward the east, the traveler is confronted with an abrupt transition from alluvial plains and terraces to a wild and chaotic zone of steep slopes and narrow ridges. The eastern lowlands are more favorable from a physiographic point of view, but the Rif chain creates a rain shadow, and the tribesmen of the eastern Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya suffer from meager and erratic rainfall. Cut off to the south by the Rif chain and to the north by inhospitable coasts, northern Morocco cannot compare with Greece, Italy, southern France, or Andalusia as a breeding place for advanced civilization. It is a rampart and a place of refuge.

The tribesmen of northern Morocco share an agricultural heritage derived in part from contacts with Phoenicians, Romans, Arabs, and Europeans. Farming methods are primitive, for the mountain tribes learned centuries ago how to grow the maximum amount of food on tiny terraces, and the size of their fields and the steepness of slopes discourage mechanization. Barley and wheat constitute the most important crops. Wherever water is available for irrigation, the cereals, which are dry-farmed, are supplemented by summer crops of maize, legumes, and vegetables. Horticulture provides precious additional food, and during the spring, when cereal stocks are low, raisins, figs, and nuts are staples. In the semiarid lowlands east of the Rif chain, only cereal farming is possible, and famine may be experienced when rains are meager or arrive too late. The great seasonal migration from this area toward the French farms of eastern Algeria resulted from an imbalance between population and food supply.

Variations in crop combinations and diet are partly conditioned by environmental factors, and hence will be considered in greater detail in chapter ii. A

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648
131

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

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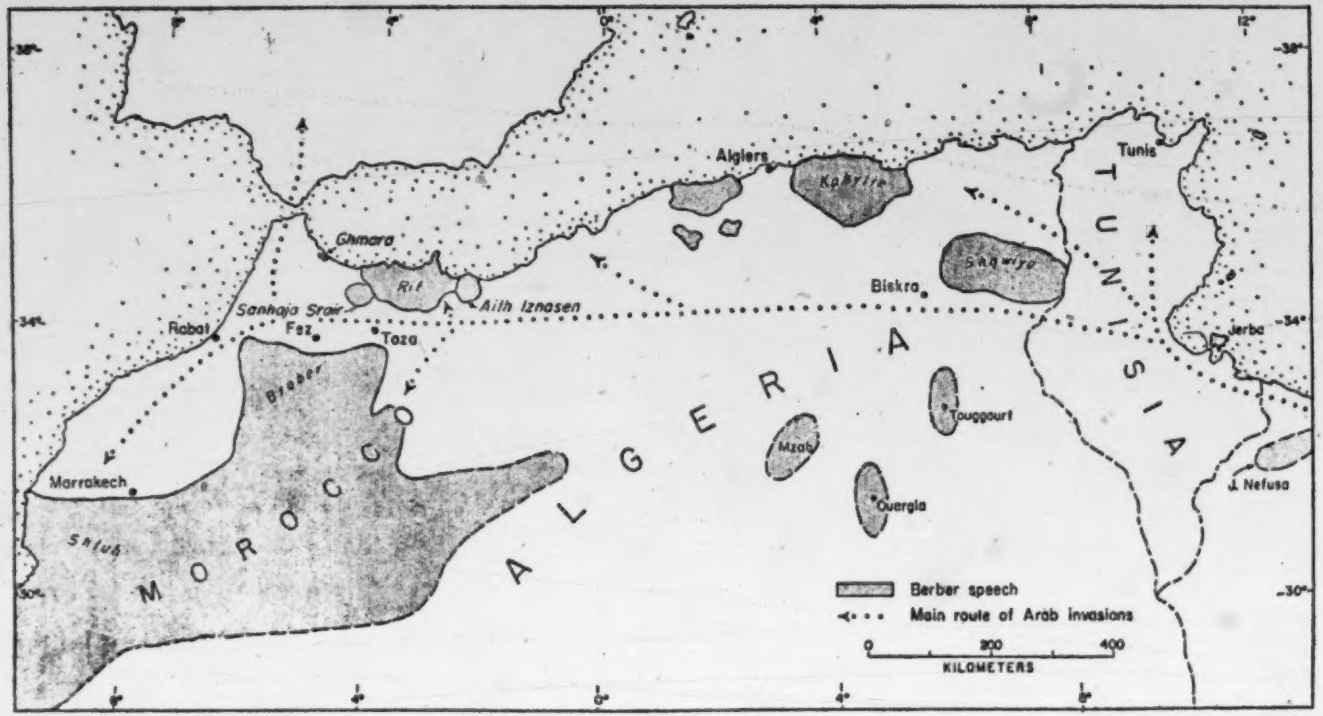

Fig. 9. North Africa: distribution of Berber speech.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

thetic to Moroccan or "Arab" nationalism, refer to a "Berber myth" and refuse to recognize any ethnic division in the country.[8] The *politique berbère* may have had its faults, but this fact does not mean that we should rewrite Moroccan history.

Berber dialects are still spoken by six to seven million people, including about 45 per cent of the population in Morocco, about 30 per cent in Algeria, and about 2 per cent in Tunisia.[9] Berber dialects are spoken also in the Jabal Nefusa and the Siwa oasis in Libya,[10] and on the southern fringe of the Sahara. The Berber language once extended to the Canary Islands.

The Berber-speaking peoples of northern Africa are now concentrated in five groups: Rifians, Braber, Shluh, Kabylies, and Shawiya (fig. 9). They are chiefly mountaineers, and all but the Braber, who practice transhumance, are sedentary farmers. The other groups include the Ghmara, who are almost completely Arabized, the tribesmen of Sanhaja as-Srair, a small colony on the island of Jerba, the Tuareg of the central and southern Sahara, and the inhabitants of the oases of Mzab, Touggourt, Ouargla, Ghardaia, Figuig, Gourara, and Touat.[8]

The original home of the Berber language is unknown, but scholars believe that it is most nearly related to Ancient Egyptian, Cushite, and certain of the Chad languages, which are traditionally but perhaps improperly called Hamitic.[11] This relationship reinforces the theory advanced by archaeologists that the Neolithic of northern Africa shows Egyptian influence.[12] In spite of a bewildering number of dialects, which is normal for an ancient language without literature, Berber can be divided into three groups: Masmuda, Sanhaja, and Zenata.[13] Masmuda was the language of the majority of the sedentary farmers before the Arab invasion. The Shluh and the Ghmara speak it today; Rifian is thought to be a mixed form. The Sanhajan dialect was the speech of the transhumants and nomads. It is now spoken in northern Morocco (Sanhaja as-Srair), in the Middle Atlas, and by the Kabylies, Shawiya, and Tuareg. Zenatiya, formerly confined to the high plateaus of Algeria and the Oujda region, has spread to many of the Saharan oases, including distant Siwa. Because of natural population growth the number of Berber speakers has increased, but the area of Berber speech has lost ground to Arabic. In fact, since the Muslim conquest Berber has gained ground only in Negro Africa, where some tribes in the Niger Territory and the French Sudan have adopted the Tuareg dialect. Without fixed grammar or an effective system of writing, Berber could not compete with the language of the Prophet.[14]

[8] Marvine Howe, "The Birth of the Moroccan Nation," *Middle East Jour.*, 10 (1956), 1–16. G. H. Bousquet, *Les Berbères* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France [collection "Que Sais-Je?"], 1957), pp. 16 ff.

[9] Louis Dupree, "The Non-Arab Ethnic Groups of Libya," *Middle East Jour.*, 12 (1958), 33–44.

[10] On the distribution of Berber speech, see also André Basset, *La langue berbère* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952).

[11] J. H. Greenberg, *Studies in African Linguistic Classification* (New Haven: Compass Publishing Co., 1955). First published in *Southwestern Jour. Anthro.*, 5, 6, 10 (1949–1954).

[12] Egyptian influence on north African rock art is examined in Raymond Vaufrey, "L'art rupestre nord africain," *Archives de l'Institut de Paléontologie Humaine*, Mémoire 20 (1939). The most striking evidence of direct influence is the presence in Algeria of rock drawings of rams wearing the solar disk associated with the worship of Re. When worn by the ram, which was sacred to Amon of Thebes, it indicates Amon-Re, the composite god of Egypt during the New Kingdom (1600–1100 B.C.).

[13] These are the major genealogical divisions of Ibn Khaldun. Strictly speaking, it is not correct to use this division in linguistic classification.

[14] The only system of writing at the time of the Arab conquest was the Libyco-Berber alphabet used in rock art. This alphabet was probably developed from ideas borrowed from the Phoeni-

7: Mikes611 K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

195 descent."[112] The Andalusian Muslims could hardly have displaced any large group of Berbers, for they settled, almost to a man, in cities and towns. It is reasonable to conclude that the Moroccan highlands remained Berber not because they were a place of retreat but because the drift of Arab influence went around the mountains rather than through or over them. The horticultural skills of the highland Berbers and their intricate social organization suggest stability, not the culture of a refugee population driven to new and unfamiliar environments."

The Christian reconquest of Spain, led by Castile and Aragón, began in 1225. Córdoba fell in 1236, and Sevilla in 1249. Soon Spanish Islam was reduced to the small kingdom of Granada, which had accepted Castile as an overlord. In 1492 Granada itself was taken, and Spanish Islam ceased to exist. Even before the conquest of Granada, many Muslims sought refuge in Morocco. These refugees repeopled most of the Moroccan towns, and provided the Saadians with technical experts and soldiers. Northern Morocco became a center of Andalusian civilization. Some families in Tetuán, Shawen, and Fez still retain keys to their ancestral homes in al-Andalus.

The Andalusian refugees brought a richer and more classical form of Arabic speech. Since most of the immigrants settled in towns, the distinction between urban and rural dialects was intensified. This distinction is still strong. The more elegant city speech is spoken not only in Fez (the great center of Andalusian culture) but also in Rabat-Salé (settled by Andalusians in the seventeenth century) and in Tetuán (most of whose inhabitants came from Ronda in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). Taza, Ksar al-Kebir, and Azemmour also have somewhat urbanized dialects, while Tangier and Wezzan show the influence of neighoring tribes. Meknès and Marrakech, perhaps the most extreme examples of country speech, are accordingly looked down upon by their bourgeois neighbors. Thus there is, besides the Arab-Berber distinction, a strong contrast even among Moroccans who are Arabized. No one familiar with the sounds and rhythms of Maghribi Arabic could fail to distinguish between the dialect of Old Fez and the quasi-bedawin speech of the rural tribes."

• 197 191 Several of the tribes shown as Berber-speakers in figure 12 are described as Arabophones in previous work. Disagreement arises from the fact that many tribes are bilingual. When questioned about their language preference, many Berbers reply that they speak only Arabic, but if questioned further they will add that their women and children speak Berber, and that boys do not begin to learn Arabic until they are old enough to attend a Qur'anic school. This is the situation among the Aith Seddath, a tribe often described as bilingual or Arabophone."[113] It is important to note whether merchants or the educated members of a tribe use more than one language, but the linguistic attainments of the elite should not be allowed to obscure the basic pattern of domestic speech. The fact that one Rifian in ten speaks some Spanish or Arabic does not mean that the Rif

[112] Montagne, *La Civilisation du désert*, p. 265, cited in note 56.

[113] René Raynal, in "Quelques aperçus géographiques sur l'évolution des régions humaines du Maroc," *Hespéris*, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines, 39 (1952), 1–16, refers to the Berber mountains as "vieilles régions humaines."

[113] G. S. Colin, "L'Arabe," in *Initiation au Maroc* (3d ed., Paris: Editions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1943), pp. 208 ff.

[113] A. Renisio, *Etude sur les dialectes berbères des Beni Iznassen, du Rif et des Senhaja de Srair* (Paris: Leroux, 1932).

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should be described as a bilingual zone. Probably not one Rifian woman in a hundred understands Arabic or Spanish, and few Rifian men speak either language correctly

In northern Morocco the Berber language is represented by three dialects: Rifian, Sanhajan, and Ghmara. Rifian is by far the most important. It varies somewhat from tribe to tribe, but this variation does not hinder communication. The differences in pronunciation are evident as one moves from the Nkour Valley toward Wad Moulouya, particularly in Ikibdhanen. Rifians can understand the dialect of the Aith Iznasen, but they are obliged to use interpreters when they deal with the Sanhajans. The Ghmaran dialect is nearly extinct. Today it is spoken only in Bani Bu Zra and in a few hamlets of Bani Mansur and Bani Grir. The relationship between Ghmaran and the other dialects is not yet clear, but Ghmaran seems to be a distinct dialect, not a variant of Rifian or Sanhajan.[a] Differences in pronunciation may be considerable, even among speakers of the same dialect. The speech of Ktama and Taghzut, for example, is barely intelligible to the Aith Seddath. The degree of difference between Rifian and Sanhajan is probably as great as that between Spanish and Italian. Nevertheless, philologists prefer to recognize only one Berber language, and attribute differences of this magnitude to isolation and the absence of literature.[b]

Berber speech has completely disappeared from the area west of Bani Siyyat, Bani Silman, and Bani Khalid. The progress of Arabization was more rapid in the interior than along the Mediterranean coast. Even today the route from Tetuán to Melilla follows the ridges of the Rifian chain, whereas no road follows the coast east of Wad Lao. The Ghmaran dialect is preserved in an area crossed by deep canyons, and bounded by high mountains and the inhospitable Mediterranean coast. In Sanhaja as-Srair most of the Arabophones occupy land south of the mountain chain. The Bani Bu Shibat and Bani Hmid find it much easier to visit the markets of Marnisa, where Arabic is spoken, than to climb the mountains to reach the main area of Sanhajan speech. In the eastern part of the Rif, Arabic is spoken only along the Moulouya Valley, the route of advance for bedawin tribes moving northward from the Algerian plateaus. The Ulad Stut not only speak Arabic but are of Arabian (i.e., bedawin) descent.[c] This claim can also be made by the Khlut, who moved into the Atlantic lowland during the fourteenth century.[d]

The first to abandon Berber (or Latin) speech were the peoples of the Tingitanian peninsula and the plains near Fez. After the collapse of Muslim Spain the same areas became havens for Andalusian refugees. From these two centers Arabic speech and Islamic culture gradually moved into the highlands. This movement is still in progress. In fact, Moroccan independence will cause an acceleration, for the language of the Prophet now has political as well as religious sanction. The Ghmaran dialect will become extinct in a generation, and in another generation or two the Sanhajan dialect may also disappear. In Ktama, Sanhajan speech is retained only in the inaccessible valley of Abd al-Ghaya, between Adrar

[a] G. S. Colin, "Le parler berbère des Gmara," *Hespéris*, 9 (1929), 43–58.
[b] Basset, *op. cit.*, in note 9.
[c] Marçais, *op. cit.*, in note 57.
[d] According to D. M. Hart (personal communication), only 9 out of 171 place and lineage names in the Khlut area are indisputably Berber.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut.[*] The rest of the Ktama, who are more exposed to outside influences, have abandoned Sanhajan speech.

In Morocco as a whole, Berber is still the language of the mountains, but most of the foothill zone has been Arabized. This generalization applies to the Sanhajan tribes south of the Rifian chain and to the southern parts of Igzinnayen, Ibdharsen, and Aith Bu Yihyi. Since the transition is from Berber speech to bilingual habit and then to Arabic alone, the tribes that are now bilingual indicate the direction of current and future change. In the areas of Ghmaran and Sanhajan speech the traveler has no trouble finding someone who can understand Arabic. The same comment can be made for the southern and eastern margins of the Rif. But as one moves from the marginal areas toward the heart of the Rif one finds fewer and fewer persons who speak Arabic; in Aith Wariyaghar and Thimsaman it is understood only by the educated elite.

Adoption of Arabic speech is only one aspect of Arabization. Many Berber groups resisted Islam at first, but by two or three centuries after the Arab invasion they were all Muslims, at least in name. Yet, while eventually converting the Berbers to Islam, the Arabs failed to control them politically. The Berber attitude toward new ideas is and presumably was one of partial or conditional acceptance. Pre-Islamic traditions emphasizing the Berber spirit of freedom and self-sufficiency could not be completely erased. Rifians and Sanhajans promptly submitted to Allah, but they did not welcome Arab tyranny or the demand of the central government for taxes. Berber tribesmen eagerly responded to any appeal for a *jihad*, or holy war, but in accepting Islam they never abandoned faith in animism and in their local saints. These two features still give a distinctive flavor to Moroccan Islam, especially in contrast to the puritanical dogma of Saudi Arabia.

Islamization and Arabization cannot be regarded as omnipotent forces capable of erasing Berber culture. A case in point is the reluctance of the Berbers to accept the Arab pattern of tribal organization. When the European occupation began, most of the mountain tribes maintained their tradition of government by popular assemblies. Prior to the European occupation, the extent of the Arab form of government was no larger than that of the central government itself. With no roads in the modern sense and with overland travel limited to riding and pack animals, it was impossible for any sultan to keep all his domain under effective control. The land of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) was confined to the lowlands where communications were easy to establish and maintain. The foothill zones retained their assemblies, although tribute was paid by some tribes through the intermediacy of the *qaid* of a subdued tribe. The boundaries of the *bilad al-makhzen* were forever fluctuating, depending on the strength or weakness of the central government, but the main areas of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*) remained independent until the advent of European control.

Berber tribes generally accepted the Five Pillars of Islam: profession of faith, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimage. But each "pillar" was modified somewhat to suit local traditions and tastes. Many Berbers think of pilgrimage in terms of their local shrines. Indeed, according to some Moroccans, seven succes-

[*] The Sanhajan dialect is spoken also at Ain Ighumad, on the north slope of Adrar Dahdoh, but this sector of Ktama has its main contact with the Berber-speakers of Aith Seddath.